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THE

Dear Bargain.

OR,

A True Repreſentation of the State of the *Engliſh* Nation under the *Dutch*.

In a Letter to a Friend.

SIR,

YOurs of the firſt of *May* came ſafe, by which you have exacted a Task from me, which I fear I ſhall not be able to perform anſwerable to your expectation. However I will not decline giving you the beſt ſatisfaction I am able; and this ſo much the rather, becauſe I have of late had ſome Conferences with the moſt Judicious Men of the Nation, and ſome opportunity of entring into the very ſecrets of the Cabal, which have been ſo induſtriouſly concealed, even from our Repreſentatives.

As to the firſt queſtion, what was the deſign of the late Parliament, begun *Feb.* 23. 1688. to Vote *a taking into conſideration the State of the Nation*, and what obſtructed their proceedings thereupon; and how it comes to paſs that nothing hath been propoſed, till of late, on that head, in this Parliament: *I* ſhall Anſwer it in few Words.

As to the deſign of the Houſe, many honeſt Men, no doubt, intended (what you mention) an impartial Enquiry into the Tranſactions of the laſt Summer, and the preſent Grievances we lie under, but the Major part intended nothing leſs; all their deſign was to get Money to ſupport the preſent Government, that it might ſupport them; and therefore to induce the Country more readily to ſubmit to the moſt heavy burthen of Taxes, they were pleaſed to ſeem to allow that an Enquiry ſhould be made into the publick Revenue, how it had been expended, and who were chargeable with the ill Conduct and Succeſs of our Affairs, both by Sea, and in *Ireland*; but neither the Government, nor they, as I ſaid, ever intended either.

For as to the Expences; the accounts were given in ſo general, ſo extravagant, and ſo uncircumſtantiated, that a very judicious Member of the Houſe told me, he bluſhed to ſee their impudence in offering them. A further ſcrutiny was expected, but to divert that, ſome miſcarriages were acknowledged, and Sir *Richard Haddock*, and Comiſſary *Shales* were expoſed, but without intention, as we ſee, of ever letting them come to a fair Tryal, and when the Money Bills were perfected, and it was but whiſpered in Parliament, that other Perſons, and Miſcarriages, were to be inquired into, there followed a precipitate Prorogation, to ſhew that Money had been the ſole buſineſs to be effected; and the queſtioning ſome great Men (amongſt whom the State *Gaviſton* in *Holland* might have been one) was a galling ſore, which was not by any means to be touched.

It is now obvious that the getting of more Money, was the primary inducement to the diſſolving of that Parliament, for it being found that no more Milk could be

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got from that Teat, a topping Lord advised the tryal of another, and undertook that a Church of *England* Parliament would give down a freſh, as much as could be expected, and it appears that his Lordſhip was not miſtaken.

As to the other part of the queſtion, how it comes to paſs that there hath been no farther progreſs made in that affair by this Parliament, all the reaſon I can give is, becauſe they are more intent upon ſecuring their King, ſince he appears cordial to our Church's Intereſt, than they are for the eaſe of the Subjects.

However, after they have voted the bleeding of the Nation, even to its ſwounding, they are pleaſed to caſt ſome cold Water upon it, by a Vote of *April*, for a Bill to *enable Commiſſioners to take an Account of all Publick Monies, ſince the* 5th. *of* November, 1688. But ſince they had ſo near finiſhed the Supplies, e'er this was moved, it looks like giving a Cordial after a mortal Wound, and can be of little uſe now, but to haſten their diſmiſſion into the Country, to be the Executioner of thoſe they have ſentenced to bleed almoſt to the laſt Ounce.

As to your ſecond deſire of having my ſenſe of the condition of the Nation: Since neither of our Repreſentatives (through a timerous, or time-ſerving Spirit) have entred upon a diſquiſition of the *true ſtate of the Nation*, whilſt they might have done it, that is, before their Money Bills were paſſed; I ſhall with as much brevity, as a matter of ſuch importance will allow, give you ſuch a Repreſentation of it, as may ſerve to awaken us out of this wonderful Lethargy, with which we are oppreſſed, ſo that we ſeem to have no ſenſe of the preſent, or infinitely greater Miſeries which are rolling down upon us.

The Matters I ſhall treat of ſhall be reduced to theſe following Heads:

Firſt, *The State of our Trade.*

Secondly, *The Condition of our Country.*

Thirdly, *The Poſture of our Military Forces both by Sea and Land.*

Fourthly, *The uncertain State of our Religion.*

Laſtly, *Some Conſiderations about the Government.*

In ſetting down the State of the Nation in theſe particulars, I ſhall, with all plainneſs and impartiality, ſhew in what condition we were before this Revolution, to to what this Government hath brought us, and to what it is yet likely to bring us farther, if it go on as hitherto it hath done.

Firſt, *then, as to Trade.*

I call to Witneſs the whole Trading Part of the Nation, however affected, and particularly that of this great City, both at the Exchange, Cuſtom-Houſe, and, with their Lordſhips leave, at the Treaſury too, if to the very laſt year of the laſt Reign, there was not more Merchandize exported, and imported, than had been in the memory of Man: For the verieſt Enemies of King *James* confeſs, that he was more intent upon the advancement of Trade than any of his Predeceſſors: To this he had the greateſt regard in his Negotiations abroad, and in his Councils at home; Witneſs his Care and Induſtry in breaking the Woollen Manufacture, which ſome of his *Diſſenting Subjects*, who fled from *England* for fear of Perſecution in the beginning of his Reign, had begun to ſet up at *Lawarden*, in *Freeſland*, and *Lunenburgh*, notwithſtanding all the incouragements were offered to *them* in thoſe Countries, of Houſes *gratis*, a fund of 20 or 30000 *l.* and that ſuch progreſs was made in it, that near upon 40 Looms were daily kept at work; which great Work he effected by promiſing Pardon, and Liberty of Conſcience.

For the ſake of promoting Trade, he would not enter into the Confederates League, nor hearken to the overtures of *France*, hoping by ſuch a Neutrality to put the moſt part of the Trade of *Europe* into the Hands of his own Subjects.

For the ſake of this he, in the mean time, made thoſe Acts of Grace and Indulgence to all his own Diſcontented and Diſſenting Subjects, that they might be able and willing to undertake ſo great a Traffick, (by having united Intereſts, notwithſtanding diverſity of Opinions,) and a laſting aſſurance of a quiet enjoyment of what they got to themſelves and Families.

For the ſake of this, a Scheme was drawn about *Auguſt.* 1688. of a farther improvement of Traffick in his Kingdoms of *Ame-*

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ries, applicable to other places, whereby our Merchants would have been able to undersel all their Rivals in *Europe*.

Lastly, For the sake of this, he ruined and sacrificed all that was dear to him; for hereby he enriched the ill-affected part of his Subject, against himself, and made the rest wanton: He made the *Dutch* jealous, and envious, and in spite of their Avarice contribute to that fatal Expedition. So that while those of King *James's* Religion look upon him as a Martyr for that, the Trading Part of the Nation ought to look upon his sufferings as the effect of his endeavours to enrich them.

In this happy and hopeful way of thriving was the Trade of the Nation found at the beginning of our Change: How hath it been improved? How preserved? Some indeed were made believe, that all would have been bettered by the Change; that the Dutch Fleet and ours joyning together, we should both have carried on the same common Interest; commanded the Seas and Traffick together: But by the sequel it appears this was only suggested, to make the credulous Merchants advance the Loan of 3 or 400000 *l.* to settle the new Government. Some of the most eminent Citizens were so confident of the Truth of this happy Conjunction, that one of them told me, *such effectual care would be taken to depress the Power of* France, *that a Cock-Boat of theirs should not pass without a Licence: So that if* King James *meant to return it must be in Muscle-shells.*

But this was reckoning without their Host. The Dutch, as cordial as they were, did not intend to part with their advantage so. It was enough that they had saved our Religion and Property for us, and sent us a King after our own Heart, who should do our business for us at home, before we ventured abroad: Accordingly, having got possession of our Ports, Magazines, Stores, and Navy, well fitted and prepared to his hand, and the Land Forces all yielding to him. The first thing he did was a work of Retaliation, and Gratitude, to furnish them who had helpt to set out him: The Dutch Merchants therefore had very sufficient Convoys, outward and inward, by which means they got the first Markets for sale of all their own Commodities; as also the preemption, or fore-stalling, if not the Monopoly, or sole buying of all Forreign ones; They have also got a free Trade into all Factories and Plantations abroad, (a matter of highest importance and dangerous consequence for the future,) and are letting in the *Spaniards* also for a share into our *West-Indies*, upon very good considerations for themselves; witness the Negotiation here of *Don Castiliano*, under pretence of furnishing *Jamaica*, formerly belonging to *Spain*, and other our Plantations with *Negroes*.

In the interim, our outward bound Vessels lay halling and at Anchor in the River, and all other Ports, all the last year, for want of Convoys, or by Embargo's, or stripping them of their Seamen, whereby above two Millions of our Commodities, to the no small loss of the Merchants, were stayed in the River, and Port of *London* only, besides the like damage, from the same Causes, in other Ports of the Kingdom.

And it is too well known, that after a tedious and endamaging expectation, all the Merchant Ships which could be made ready, in hopes of a safe Convoy in Company of the Q. of *Spain*, to the number of 400. some while before her Voyage, suffered infinite damages by an Hurricane on the 11*th.* of *January*, 1637. to the value, as some compute, of half a Million more, besides the loss of near upon a score of Merchant Ships, and some hundreds of Seamen washed up on the *Kentish* shore. It may easily be conceived how chargeable the very refitting again of the Merchant Ships, the supply of fresh Goods and Men have been; yet after their Voyage under Convoys with the Q. of *Spain*, another most violent Hurricane hath shatter'd them near the *Groin* to that degree, besides the loss of more then as yet can be known, or is fit to own, that the Merchants will in the upshot find a very sad account of this adventure; if they miss the French in their going, or returning.

If there only were a suspension of Trade for a while, there were some plea for Patience and Hope, but the mischief is as desperate for the future, as it is irrecoverable for the past: For, First, the French have given us a *coup d'Essay*, a foretast of what we must expect this year, by what they have done the last. It is notoriously known, and too smartingly felt, that they have

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taken in our own Seas, in the *Streights*, and elſewhere, ſince the War began, near upon 3 Millions worth of our *Merchandize*, with above 400 Veſſels, and 3000 Seamen, and are now in Conjunction with the *Algerines* to ſeize our Ships in Forreign Ports; they are upon the matter Lords of our own Seas; and by Diſaſters, Storms, and Surprize, we want near upon 15 of our *Men* of War we had in King *James*'s time, and we hear of no new ones built, but are put to the pitiful ſhift of fitting *Merchant Men*, which now want Traffick, to be *Men* of War.

The Seamen, that uſe to be imployed by our *Merchants*, have been often taken out of their Ships, for the uſe of *Men* of War of this new rate, when it was found after long beating up of Drums for the new Marine Regiments, that none came in, but ſuch as would make the Black-Guard look thin by Torch light. A cruel method hath been taken of Preſſing men, even ſuch as the Law exempts, and with that rigour, and ſo contrary to the Statutes, and with ſuch reluctancy of thoſe Preſſed, that the Roundhouſes in the City, and Priſons in the Country have been, for ſome Months, continually filled with them, and as one company was tranſported, others have been ſeized and ſecured; *neither have Women eſcaped, to be made Laundreſſes and Nurſes*; yet the Parliament hath taken no notice, to give a ſtop to ſuch Tyrannical and Arbitrary Proceedings; only upon complaint of the Earl of *Carnarvan*, *April* 24. of the rudeneſs and inſolence of one Preſs-Maſter, who ſeized an Old Man, above 60 years of age, in the Boat his Lordſhip was coming in from *Greenwich*, and threatned to do the like to his Lordſhip: The Lords ordered the Old Old Man to be ſet at liberty, and the Preſs-Maſter taken into Cuſtody, but proceeded no farther to have the abuſes in general rectified: However, this unwillingneſs to go without Compulſion, is a certain ſign how little zeal the very Mobile have now to the Cauſe, and how ſmall Service can be expected from them; though this Kidnapping will contribute to the general Deſign of weakening the Nation, of which I ſhall have occaſion to Write more fully hereafter. Upon the whole, we can ſee little hopes of our own abilities alone, whereby we ſhall be able to keep our ſelves from being Priſoners in our Iſland, and leſs from the Dutch aſſiſtance: Where then is the proſpect of recovery? Certainly not ſo long as the War with *France* doth laſt.

But, Secondly, ſuppoſe that War ended, and the *French* humbled to our wiſh, we ſhall ſtill have the Dutch to deal with: They have been always our Rivals, and are now our Maſters. Do we think they will ever let us get up again, or re-enter into that Univerſal Trade which they have occupyed during our Ceſſation? It is their Intereſt (and they know it and love it too) that the *French* ſhould drain us as they do. A *Man* would think there were very good Intelligence between them; we hear of very little harm they do each other, either by Land or Sea; and I believe they will not fall out into any greater Hoſtilities on our account; they have dealt fairly hitherto, and upon the ſquare, the *Dutch* have our Trade, and the *French* our Ships and men: Indeed they have no great ground for a *Quarrel*, nor ever had of their own; but they have great motives to keep it up, now it is begun, at our charge. When we are quite undone, and brought as low at Sea, as the *French* were ſome years ago, then indeed the *Dutch* and they may fall out in earneſt, and be as troubleſome to each other as we and the *Dutch* have been formerly; mean while we have all the reaſon in the World to look about us.

The States are as wiſe as their Neighbors, and as good at ſelf-Preſervation and getting Wealth: they could timely ſlip themſelves out of the League in the laſt War with *France*; and now they cannot but foreſee how the elevating their Prince to the Throne of *England*, may give him ſome advantages over their Liberties, or engage them in a War diametrical to their Trade.

The *Louviſian* Faction is not yet extinct, and the Blood of the *De Witts* may be yet remembred, and when we hear their Statues ſhall be ſet up, that of the Prince's will not long continue undemoliſhed. If therefore, after our being thus diſenabled, they ſhould clap up a Peace with *France*, where ſhould we be, unleſs we were Maſters of wiſer Conduct than has yet been diſcovered.

It is to be wiſhed our great Council had learnt a little State-Craft from them. It is worth a Sober Thought to conſider, how

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induſtrious the Dutch have been to make uſe of this opportunity, to know all our Ports, Shipping, Magazines, and Revenue. And they would do well to inquire into the reaſons, why their Ambaſſadors, the laſt year, were made the Commitees of our Councils. They know, no doubt, what uſe to make of theſe advantages, as well as they do to hinder us from having the like over them.

They take care we ſhall have no Men of War in their Ports; and *Man Heer Bentingh* himſelf ſhall be no more admitted to their ſecret Conſultations, ſince he is become an *Engliſh* Earl: But we, kind natur'd Fools, not only expoſe our weakneſs to them, but give them up our Trade, and pay them too for their enſlaving us; for whereas our loſs of Trade to them, and the giving ſuch a diverſion to the *French*, has been worth to them more than all the pure Silver in their Bank, and all the ſeven Provinces; yet we have been ſo kind, and ſo afraid to diſpleaſe them, that we have upon their demand, notwithſtanding their Debt owing to *England*, ever ſince Q. *Elizabeth* ſuccoured their *poor diſtreſſed States*, enſured them 600000 *l.* for an acknowledgment we are their Vaſſals.

It was not ſo with us in former times; for the very blackeſt of Parliaments, and *Oliver Cromwel* himſelf, though they had murthered King *Charles* I. and baniſhed his Son, and had nothing but their own Army to rely upon, and in the very infancy of their Government, yet had that due regard to the intereſt of *England*, in point of Trade, that they undertook a War againſt the *Dutch* with ſuch vigour, that they forced them to better Terms, and a more commodious adjuſtment of Trade, than we ever had before.

Soon after the Reſtauration of K. *Charles* II. Acts were made againſt importation of Forreign Commodities in any other than *Engliſh* Veſſels, or from any other place but that of their growth; alſo to prohibit the bringing in of ſeveral Manufactures, and particularly Buttons; and that no Hides, tann'd or untann'd, ſhould be exported: But ſince the *Dutch* have become our Maſters, nothing is to be queſtioned they bring in; as may be ſeen in the Entries at the Cuſtom-Houſe, even to Hair and other Buttons; even our Men of War, and Yatchs, bring in and help us to ſome prohibited Goods, which our Merchants cannot fetch. And under pretence that the Act for bringing Goods of the growth of the reſpective Countries in *Engliſh* Bottoms only, was prejudicial, and had been ſometimes diſpenſed with in the laſt two Kings Reigns; our preſent Governors, more to gratifie the *Dutch*, and cover our weakneſs and inability to Traffick for want of Convoys, than out of any juſt ſcruple of uſing the Diſpenſing Power in ſuch a Caſe, have repealed thoſe Laws, for that very end that we may have ſuch Merchandize only from the *Dutch*. And leaſt we ſhould have the advantage of vending abroad Shoes and Boots, made in our own Country, by which a great part of *Northampton*, and above a thouſand Families ſubſiſt, liberty muſt be given by a new Act to tranſport Leather; yet at the ſame time we muſt have Saddles and Bridles brought from our Allies, to the great impoveriſhing of our Artificers, who muſt pay Polls and Taxes to feed and cloath the Riders.

If things be carried thus by *Dutch* Councils, and Intereſt, we may expect, e'er long, to have every thing brought in *Dutch* Bottoms alſo, and then all our Merchants muſt turn *Dutch* Factors. Thus in ſome particulars the Diſpenſing Power is not quite extinct, as to the *Dutch*: our Laws of the greateſt importance as to Trade, muſt be made bold with, even to the Face of the Legiſlators, to gratifie them.

This partial connivance towards theſe good Neighbours of ours, is attended with one aggravation, which much dejects our Merchants, and ought to fill them with indignation; and that is the neglect of all their Complaints, both in relation to this Grievance, and all others.

They are able to Name, and Convict, the immediate Authors of theſe abuſes; they offer to prove the Bribes and Corruptions, which have induced thoſe, who ought to have ſecured them, to un-man their Veſſels, and expoſe them to the *French*: And though the *Lumley-Caſtle*, which had been three years abroad, and the *Eaſt-India* Ship did not fall into the hands of the *French*; yet the Merchants have more reaſon to thank the care of the Maſters, that they

came safe home, than the kindness of the Sea Commenders, who took their men out of them, without making them any satisfaction for the Arrears of their Wages, and threatned the master to put him in his own Bilboes.

Whoever desires farther satisfaction in other particulars of this Nature, may find Petitions exhibited to the Parliament, even in the printed Votes, of Persons endamaged by such abuses, but no account of their redress.

There they may find Captain *Churchil* accused, for his exorbitant exactions for Convoys, and other Fees, whose case was so odious, that for very shame he was sent to the Tower; but released in three days, because he was my Lord's Brother forsooth, and a Member; one would have thought the second reason should have kept him there, seeing such crimes are more enormous in them who are sent by the People, to redress and punish the like in others.

But alas! What do we talk of redress? when there is so great a number of such *Officer-Members* amongst our Representatives; no less than fourscore brave brisk Sparks, who are the most assiduous and active in the House, especially when the money raising debates are on foot, the one hand plays into the other, the Member acts for the Officer, and the Officer does better Service in the House than in the Field; and is a kind of double Representative, for his Burrough, and for his Regiment, one of which feeds on the other, and he on both: And no doubt but they who have the beneficial Offices in the Treasury, Admiralty, Custom-House, and other branches of the Revenue, are of the same Kidney.

This was the policy of the old Long Parliament of 1640. to concert these two Capacities, *Arma & Toga*, the Gun and the Gown, in one and the same interest, till old *Oliver*, with a *self-denying Ordinance*, slipt them asunder, and devoured both.

Indeed the Silk-Weavers had better success in their complaint than the Merchants; but they may thank their Number, and their Poverty; they had nothing to lose, and ventured no more; there was more of Fear than Compassion in the alleviation of their Grievances.

——Ne magna Injuria fiat
Fortibus & miseris.

And the Bill for Impositions on new Buildings, and prohibiting more, found its stop from the same apprehension of numerous Petitions, from the infinite numbers of Carpenters, Bricklayers, &c. our very Champions for the new foundations of their Monarchy, being afraid to pull an old House about their Ears.

For had it been a sence of Pity, or Equity, which put a stop to that prejudicial Act, why might not so many thousand Families, in the like condition, and of such like Trade, in this City principally, and over all the Kingdom, (now unthought of and unregarded,) pretend to the same relief? Are not all the Shopkeepers, all Artificers, and Labourers, to the very Porters and Draymen, involved in the same predicament with the Silk-Weavers? Do not all their imployments depend on the Merchants, and their Livelihoods on their Employments? How then can they subsist when he fails? Indeed the Shopkeepers hold up a little yet, by raising the price of their Wares, because of their scarcity; but that is like living upon Cordials, and cannot last long, when the regular circulation of Commerce is intercepted above and below; when the Merchant can bring in no more supplies from abroad, nor the impoverished Customers come up to the raised price of the old Store; they must be contented to be without Foreign Commodities, when they want wherewith to get home-bred necessaries.

If the damages sustained thereby had only fallen upon the Merchants themselves, a lesser Charity than mine would have mixed some reproach with pity, for the misfortunes they have drawn upon themselves: But, alas! they strike too far into the very vitals of the Nation, and run over the whole Body of the inland People, who to the number of 200000 Persons, are, and are like to be, reduced to Beggary, for want of transportation of our Staple Commodities. And this gives me a transition to the next Head of this Memorial, *viz.*

The consideration of the Country.

Let us see, first, how our Representatives left it, at their first coming up to the Con-

Convention; and then in what plight it hath been ever ſince this Revolution. They talked once of ſending Commiſſioners to enquire into the ſtate of the Fleet, and of their Army in *Ireland*; would they had done ſo into their reſpective Counties: I believe the account would not have been very welcome, eſpecially when they were told who were the Authors of it.

We cannot but remember that in King *James*'s time, and for a great part of King *Charles* the Second's, for almoſt 15 years, there had neither been Land Tax nor Poll, the whole Country enjoyed the unſpeakable benefits of Peace and Plenty, at full liberty to improve to the utmoſt advantage, the production of their Labour and Induſtry, without one penny of charges for all the Eaſe and Safety they enjoyed: The Tenants and Farmers grew rich; the Landlords had their Rents well paid, and their Eſtates improved; nothing was wanting but a true ſence of their Happineſs, and a deſire to preſerve it.

And though there was an Army then, it was of Natives, which coſt the Country nothing, the King maintain'd it out of his own Revenue, taking all the care poſſible the Soldiers ſhould not in any ſort be a Burden or a grievance to the Country.

This is a ſhort Summary of all thoſe Bleſſings, which, if dilated upon, wou'd turn this Remonſtrance into a Panegyrick, very unacceptable to thoſe who are accountable for the loſs of them.

I wiſh I had the Art, with the ſame Brevity, to ſumm up the Miſeries and Calamities which have ſucceeded theſe Bleſſings; and which, worſe than *Pharoah*'s lean Kine, have in twice 7 months conſumed the Harveſt of as many years: But there is too much Confuſion and Diſorder in them, to admit of any rules or methods of Expreſſion; Complaints, in things of this Nature, will be poured out their own way, and in their own meaſures; there is no digeſting of them; a Man may as well diſcipline the Rabble, as deſcribe theſe Grievances of the poorer ſort of the common People.

For, to begin with them, what a diſmal ſight is it to behold the periſhing ſtate of ſuch an infinite number of Men, Women, and Children, in almoſt all Counties of *England*, ſuch as Spinners, Carders, Weavers, &c. imployed about the Woollen manufactures; ſuch as Miners, and other Labourers, in the Lead, Tin, Alome, and Iron Works, who are now turned off, or ſo abated in their Wages, that they are forced to beg, ſteal, or rob, for the ſubſiſtance of themſelves and their Families, to the continual terror of their Neighbours who have any thing to loſe, and to the cramming of Goals with the Carcaſſes of ſo many wretched Criminals, who were before uſeful and neceſſary for the proſperity of the Nation. And this being the notorious condition of the vaſt Body of the inferiour Commoners in the leſſer Towns, and adjacent Villages, throughout *England*; Was there not one Burgeſs in either of the Parliaments, to put in a good Word for ſo many poor Dependants of theirs, that they might be left out in the Poll Bills? But they muſt be ſentenced to pay for their Heads, becauſe they had nothing elſe, and to ranſome, by a kind of *Turkiſh* Tribute, their numerous Fry of young Ones too; it being all the Stock they had to be Rated for.

Was Chimney-mony ſo great a burden, that it ſhould be taken off, and this put in its place? This, I ſay, which fell heavy on thoſe who had neither Children nor Chimneys to pay for, poor Servants of both Sexes, whoſe Wages were half decimated, and every pound went for a Child; the ſweat of their brows was taxed, and *Adams* curſe aggravated with a new Impoſition; the poor man laboured all the year for Bread, and paid for it when he had done.

But, perhaps the condition of the next rank of Commoners is more tolerable, I mean that of Houſe-holders, ſuch as Farmers, and petty Free-holders, whoſe livelihoods conſiſt in their Stocks, and Husbandry, managed and improved by frugality and induſtry; nothing leſs: For the miſery increaſes, in proportion to their ability: and their Tax-maſters have, with very great diſcernment, allotted them out their ſhare in the common Calamities; for, beſides what they have ſuffered from our new ſtanding Army, (of which I ſhall ſpeak more under the next Head,) they have been ſo handled by the Raters and Leviers of our Modern Taxes, that the ſame hath been exacted three times over, from the ſame

Fund

Fund; when, beſides the Land Tax of twelve pence in the pound, there hath been as much upon the Stock, and as much upon the ready Money, not regarding whether, or how much the owners were indebted, ſometime even to the value of the Land it ſelf; ſo that in ſome caſes, and in ſeveral places where Monies have been let out upon Mortgages, and Perſonal Securities, (ſuppoſe to Men of Trade, and in order to it,) a threefold Tax hath been exacted from the ſame income; and now this year the ſame is to be trebled, beſides the ſurvey of the laſt; and a new moſt *rigorous Poll-Bill*, beyond all Preſidents, as well in relation to its ſtrictneſs, as that *two* ſhould be granted in one year, and made concurrent with the other Impoſitions; and when theſe payments are over, we are put in hopes of a convenient augmentation at every Seſſion of Parliament to be doubled or trebled, according to the Arbitrary Neceſſities of the Government: ſo that out of the Stock of the Country-man, being already ſo greatly diminiſhed, by the fallen price of Wool, Corn, and Cattle, *&c.* left upon their hands, or ſold at undervalue; by that time their Rents are paid, their Tithes, and Church dues, their rates for the Poor, (never ſo numerous as now,) their other Conſtable Aſſeſſments, Exciſe, and County charges, being deducted out of the remainder, how much is ſtill left to pay the Publick? and that done, how much yet to provide for Old Age and Children?

As to the condition of the *Gentry*, and other ſorts of *Free-holders*, it is in all reſpects proportionable to the other, and the *emptineſs of their own Purſes*, will ſoon make them ſenſible of the *poverty of their Tenants*; and this impoveriſhing of the *Gentry* will be ſo much the more unſupportable to them; as the condition they are born to, and have hitherto lived in, renders them unfit to get their maintainance by Labour and Induſtry.

To theſe I might add the exceſſive loſſes many have had, by the *Mobile's plundering of their Houſes, burning*, and *deſtroying* what their rage and blind zeal prompted them to; and the *Expences* others have been put to, at the beginning of the Change: Every one knows what a charge the Country was put to, in arming, to defend themſelves againſt the imaginary Maſſacring Enemies, which the falſe but deſigned Alarms affrighted them with. Others (who are leſs to be pitied) were at voluntary, but yet exceſſive charges, in equipping themſelves to ſhew their zeal for the Prince of *Orange*.

But the *Free Quarter* which the whole Army had given them, or took, for ſome months, put the chiefeſt charge upon the Country; to all which we may add the *havock* that has been made by the new raiſed Regiments, the ſtanding *Engliſh* Army, and the *Forreigners*, prodigionſly increaſed by new recruits, the *Danes* and the Fry of their Wives and Children, which, to the number at leaſt of 30000 of all ſorts, live upon the Country, and devour more in a day, than they pay for in three, if they pay any thing at all. All which expences the Country hath been put to in theſe particulars, will certainly amount to as much more as hath been paid to the States for their aſſiſtance.

If this were like other Country calamities, ſuch as *dry Summers*, and *hard Winters*, it might be born with, in hopes of *better times*; but when they are like to laſt as long as the Government it ſelf, which has no other bottom to ſubſiſt upon, but this continued preſſure of the poor Country; and when the *Gentry* and *rich Citizens* hedg in their own Stocks, partly by being in Commiſſion for the regulating and raiſing theſe Taxes upon others, and dealing civilly with themſelves; partly by getting into profitable Offices in the State, or in the Army. Are not the Country men like to be in a miſerable State, being already near upon reduced to the condition of *French Peaſants*, which we ſo pity and declame againſt, under the Slavery of the Lord *Dutch* and Lord *Danes*. So that the Imaginary fear of *French* Government will ſoon bring us to a real experience of the ſo much talk'd of Canvas Breeches, bare Legs, and wooden Shoes.

That it muſt come to this, is too evident, (for we are no more the *Engliſh* Nation we were ſixteen Months ſince) and they, who alone can hinder it, have no intention, it ſeems, to prevent it, as may be gueſſed by the ſaying of one of our Modern Patriots, who to an honeſt Man's compaſſionating the ſufferings of the Country, replyed, *That if a Colt of a month old could bear a*

pound

pound weight, the next months it would bear two; and ſo in a very few Months, might become a very good beaſt of burden, and if need were an excellent Pack-Horſe. A very fit Allegory, firſt 12 *d.* in the pound, then 2 and 3 *s.* in the pound, a doubled Poll, and in a little time a ſupply unſtinted; but ſuch had beſt beware; our *Engliſh* breed are very skittiſh; they will be apt to Kick and Wince, and caſt their Maſters; we have known them throw their burden, and turn their Riders to Graſs.

I come now to the third Head, *The Military State of the Nation*; in which, as in the two former points, I ſhall briefly touch what it was in K. *James's* time; then make a parallel what it is at preſent.

I ſhall not inquire into the motives, which in this Age induce all States and Princes to maintain a ſtanding Force: Their jealouſies of their Neighbours, and the neceſſity of having a diſciplined Power to defend their Countries, ſeems abundantly ſufficient. As to King *James's* Army, I have already touched how careful he was, to keep it from being anywiſe burthenſom either to the publick or private Perſons. To which I may add that on the contrary he made them beneficial in all places where they came, by cauſing them duly to pay for what they had; and ſo advantagiouſly ſpending the Commodities of the Country, that it made them welcome to their Quarters, and raiſed the price of the Market to the profit of the Buyers and Sellers.

It is true there were three Regiments of Dragoons, and ſome foot who had been at *Tangier*, who lived diſorderly, notwithſtanding the King's Proclamation, and ſtricteſt Command to the Officers to prevent it: But theſe were the very firſt who revolted to the Prince; boaſting that, beſides the *early Service*, they had done him greater by oppreſſing the Country, which they did for no other end, but that they might alienate their affections from King *James*; and make them more readily admit the Prince, who pretended ſtricter Care and Diſcipline.

It is evidently known, that no Prince or General, was ever more indulgent to his Troops than he; he not only fed and cloathed, but advanced them; and had ſo much of the Spirit of the *Roman* Generals, that he treated them as Fellow-Soldiers, and permitted the General-Officers to ſit covered at his Table; he took a moſt ſpecial care that all things, even to ſuperfluities, ſhould be provided for them; and was in all things more like a Father than a Maſter to them.

They were all Natives of their Country, and ſo the moſt likely (as well as the moſt obliged) to preſerve its Peace, and defend it againſt Strangers: How many Families of the Nobility and Gentry, did there find an honourable and plentiful Proviſion for younger Brothers, who muſt otherways have remained expoſed to idleneſs, and all its vitious conſequences? How many private Perſons, unapt or unable to drive a Trade, were therein ſettled, in a Profeſſion and Employment, which might maintain them competently, without danger of Goals or Gallows?

Neither was he leſs careful of his Stores: It is ſtupendious to conceive how he had furniſhed all his Ports with Artillery, and Magazines of Arms and Proviſions, in ſo much that the Officers of the Ordinance acknowledged, that no leſs than 50000 Arms, with all other Ammunition proportionable, were lodged in the Tower of *London* alone.

This for the Land Forces.

And as for the Fleet, all the Officers of the Admiralty, and Secretary Deputies in particular, can teſtifie, that his Naval Magazines were ſo well provided; his Ships in ſo good order; his Seamen ſo well paid, as the like had not been in any two Ages before; inſomuch that his Stores alone, by a modeſt computation, coſt him betwixt 2 and 3 Millions: And that which adds to the wonder is, that in his ſhort, and otherwiſe expenſive Reign, all this was defrayed out of his own Revenue, without any publick Tax, notwithſtanding the extraodinary charges he was at in raiſing new Forces, and equipping his Fleet upon the Prince of *Orange's* Invaſion; yet he paid his Army to the middle of *December*, before he left *England*; and left in the Exchequer, in ready Money, near 160000 *l.* and in Arrears of Cuſtoms, Exciſe, Chimney-Money, and other branches of his Revenue, 400000.

Now to give the reverſe of this deſcription: Have we not ſeen all theſe Proviſions in few Months ſquandred away, or tranſported out the Kingdom? Is not the

Tower almoſt emptied of Arms and Ammunition? Have not all our Naval Stores been long ſince exhauſted? And though, beſides the Revenue, (with which alone, as I ſaid, King *James* did all this,) there has been given to the Prince above 3 Millions; yet, to the wonder of the World, all his Soldiers, both by Sea and Land, are greatly in Arrears; and, if they do not belie their Maſters, have little more than Subſiſtance-Money paid them. And as to the Seamen in particular, they are not only left unpaid but have been ſo ill-provided with wholſom Victuals, that above half of thoſe who were on board the laſt year, are dead of a kind of Plague; yea, more periſhed, as ſome old Seamen told me, than in any three of our former Sea Engagements; and thoſe that have been ſet on ſhore, in hopes thereby to have recovered their Health, have many of them, for want of Money, been found wandring to their Friends barefoot and barelegg'd, even glad of any Almes in their Journey; which ſhews that ſince their Commanders have eſpouſed the *Dutch* Intereſt, they have put off the charitable Nature of true *Engliſh*: This uſage being ſo publickly known, it is not to be wondred that the *Gazettes* every Week give us an account of ſo many Deſerters out of the Marine Regiments.

And what is the cauſe of all this, but the ſending away the Money into *Holland*, which ſhould have been laid out upon Proviſions in Seaſon, and not to have left them to have been taken upon tick, even beyond the credit of the Purvoyers.

What end and motive ſome may have thus to exhauſt our Stores, and weaken our Naval Force, is not difficult to ſurmize, when we find ſuch ſhoals of *Dutch* and *Danes* come over to ſupply our want of Seamen, and take poſſeſſion of our Men of War, as well as of our Forts and Havens: And whereas for a recruit of all theſe loſſes, the Earls of *Pembroke* and *Torrington* have, though with great difficulty, near upon compleated their Marine Regiments; yet becauſe they are moſt of them raw unexperienced Men, and have been forced altogether againſt their Wills, and promiſe no great Zeal to the Cauſe, we may upon rational grounds conceive, they may be ſent to ſerve their Apprenticeſhip, and learn their Trade under the *Dutch*, who will lend us ſome of their more expert ones the while, as well as our Land Forces have been ſent to *Holland*, in exchange for our more truſty *Dutch* Deliverers.

This deſign of utterly diſabling the ſtrength of our Nation, and bringing us to depend intirely on Strangers, will appear more manifeſtly, if we conſider the treatment and the uſage of our Land Soldiers, and the miſeries they have been reduced to *Here*, in *Holland*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*.

As to *England*. Though the Army which was left by King *James*, and to which, as I have told you, he had ſo tender a regard; was indeed moſt ungrateful and treacherous; inſomuch that, in the Judgment and Language of the *Dutch*, they deſerv'd to be ſtiled, *worſe than Dogs*; for theſe, ſay they, will love and defend thoſe that feed them; yet they had reaſon to expect ſome tolerable conditions from their dearly obliged new Maſters.

But what have they done for them? Are they better paid, better cloathed or preferred? On the contrary, Are they not ſlighted, laid aſide, contemned? Dares he truſt thoſe that are employed, without Spies to watch their Conduct? has he not diſpers'd them over the three Nations? ſent them into *Holland*, nay, into our Plantations in the *Weſt-Indies*, where what is become of ſome of theſe laſt is kept cloſe, no diſcovery can be made, after ſtrict enquiry; they are like the ten Tribes, led away Captive, never to be heard of more. Could he imprint more indelible Characters of his Opinion of them? Could he give a more proper reward for their Treachery and Cowardiſe.

The *Treaſon* may be loved, but it is impoſſible the *Traitors* ſhould be either loved or truſted. Is it not, think you, upon this diſtruſt, leaſt they, who had deſerted a Maſter, who was as tender of them as of the Apple of his Eye, ſhould have any grudgings to return to their Duty, that he is reſolved to diſperſe them, and poſt them where they may ſooneſt be diſpatched, that the *Dutch*, the *Danes*, and other *Forreigners*, more truſty to his Service, may poſſeſs our Country?

To effect this his ſecret, but unalterable reſolution, the Troops and Regiments of King *James*'s Guards, were firſt diſpatched into *Holland*, under the Command of the

Lord

Lord *Churchil*, who, if he could have been intirely confided in, would not have been removed ſo far from the Prince's Perſon.

Let us now ſee how they have been there treated, and how this covert deſign of weakning *England* ſucceeded there.

At their firſt Landing, as ſeveral of their Letters teſtifie, they were looked upon as Perſons rather feared and ſuſpected by the Prince, and ſuch as he had a mind to be rid of, than as Auxiliaries for the Confederates Service; and their reception was ſo cold; the affronts that were put upon them ſo many, the revilings for their Treachery and Cowardice ſo ſharp, and their Quarters ſo very bad, that they could not without a ſigh remember old *England*, and the beſt of Maſters.

They were quartered in ſuch dear places, that their pay could not maintain them; eſpecially ſince the dearneſs of the Country was augmented by the extortion of their *Commander* in *Chief*; who having contracted with a Jew (as he who made the bargain told me) to find the Soldiers Bread at four pence half penny a Loaf; this *Famous Lord*, the worſt Jew of the two, made the poor Soldiers pay ſix pence; by which Exciſe upon his own Soldiers, he might, by modeſt computation, put 2000 *l.* in his Pocket; which oppreſſion was the more grievous, by how much their allowance of the Horſe Guards was leſs by three pence in a Day than the *Dutch* Guards have here, and our Country cheaper by more than a third part.

From this ſcarcity, and the change of Dyet; from *Engliſh* Beef, Mutton, and Veal, with wholſom Beverage, and an open Air; to feed upon Herbs and Roots; drink a muddy Beer, and ſuck in a foggy Air; the Soldiers were ſtarved into Diſeaſes, and being in an unhoſpitable Land; and under new, or pitileſs Commanders; had no care taken of them, but were ſuffered to die like *Engliſh* Dogs, as they were uſually ſtiled by them; there you might ſee them ſprawling by Parcels, and groaning under the double gripes of their Bowels, and their Conſciences, to ſee themſelves cheated out of *their Allegiance*, *Country*, *Health*, and *Life* it ſelf. The number of thoſe who died there, amidſt thoſe miſeries, not in Battle, for they would not give them that Honour, amounted to 5400. before Major *Birch* returned hither for *Recruits*, as he told the *Doctor*, his *Brother*, in the preſence of an eminent *Member* of *Parliament*; though *he* and *others*, the more eaſily to get *recruits*, have at other times, and in other Companies, the Policy to conceal it.

Thus much for *Holland*.

As for our Armies in *Scotland*, we hear not much indeed of any Sickneſs there, they were upon the ſame Continent, and in places where they could command all things neceſſary; but we hear how miſerably the Country hath been haraſſed by them, and how they have been treated in the Country; we hear how conſiderably they have been *diminiſhed*, by the Valour of half their number of new *raiſed*, *and half-armed Highlanders*; who, though not above 2500. ſlew and took Priſoners neer upon 4000 of *Mac-kay's* old diſciplined Men; *And had the Valiant* Dundee *over liv'd that Day, that Kingdom had, long e're this, been reduced to obedience to their Lawful King. May the Courage and Conduct reſt upon ſome other, who may not only oppoſe the oppreſſion of their Country by Foreign Forces, but drive out the reſt of thoſe who have dethroned their Lawful King, and aboliſhed Epiſcopacy there.*

But the diſmal Scene of all is Ireland; *there it is the Hand of Heaven hath viſibly met them, in the middle of their Impieties, who durſt venture to face him whom they had betrayed; and choſe to follow an* ungrateful Foreigner, *againſt* God's own Anointed, *to whom they had ſo often ſworn Fidelity and Allegiance, and to whom* He *ow'd his riſe, as is known to the World.*

I take Heaven to Witneſs with what compaſſion and horrour I enter upon this point; for though all theſe Plagues, in the opinion of moſt, fell juſtly and ſeaſonably upon ſo many deſperate and incorrigible Enemies to their King; yet humanity it ſelf muſt needs ſhrink at the ſight of ſo many Agonies, tranſcending moſt of the cruel executions that have been inflicted on *Malefactors*; for, when all is done, they are our *Fellow-Country-Men* that *ſuffer*, and the loſs of ſo many will fall ultimately upon the whole Nation, ſo far weaken'd, and rendred more defenceleſs: No pleaſant Theme, I am ſure, for any true *Engliſh* Man to deſcant on; yet ſomething muſt be ſaid for a warning to thoſe who yet ſurvive,

ſurvive, and a *terrour* to the reſt of our deluded People.

This Army conſiſted, the laſt year, of the moſt active of thoſe who had *deſerted* King *James*, of ſome *new raiſed Regiments*; beſides the *French Refugees*, who had been ſo *charitably received*, and *liberally relieved* here, and of ſome *truſty Dutch*.

As for the *new raiſed Men*, they were moſt of them profligate Perſons in their Lives and Fortunes; the Officers moſt of them Outlaws and Bankrupts; the Soldiers, ſome cull'd out of the *Rabble*, others rak'd out of Goals, 5, 10, 15. from a Priſon, where they would have ſtaid till Execution in other times; ſome were run-away *Apprentices*; others, *Journey-men*; debauched *Servants*, or *Foot-men*, who entred into this *Service*, as into *Romulus* his *Aſylum*, to avoid the puniſhment of their paſt Crimes, and to act them on with the like impunity.

Hence came all the *calamities* of the *wretched Countries* through which they paſſed, not only by *Free Quarter*, 16 days together in a place, upon the middle ſort of *Commoners*; but alſo by pilfering, and ſtealing, down right robbing, and breaking Houſes in the Night; and taking away from *Roman Catholicks*, and *others* ſo *ſtigmatized* by them, not only their Proviſions and Horſes, but ſometimes their Cattle, rifling their Houſes, and making havock of what they could not devour: Of all which I have ſeen Letters from ſeveral in the *Northern Counties*.

In particular how the *Dutch* Officers ſhot, and carried away ſeveral Head of *Deer*, from the Dutcheſs of *Buckingham*'s Park at *Nun-Appleton*; and Captain *Beal* and his Brother from *Heſlewood* Park; but ſome will excuſe this as no Felony in Soldiers; and that it was for their *Maſter's Service*, to feaſt themſelves and Soldiers: But I know not what can be ſaid in defence of Colonel *Villers*, who cauſed all the *Giſt Horſes*, belonging to very many ſeveral Perſons, neither Papiſts nor Popiſhly affected, to be driven out of Sir *Roger Strickland*'s Park, many of which, not fit for *Service*, he ſold for 5 *s.* a-piece; neither was this done only by him in theſe Places, but in ſeveral other *Counties* in his *March*; as it was likewiſe done by other Officers, whereby their Soldiers were incouraged to follow ſuch examples in taking Cattel; cauſing the *Country men* to carry Hay-ſtacks, and other Proviſions, from remoter Places, to their Quarters, as if they had been ravaging in an Enemy's Country.

And when application was made to ſome Juſtices of the Peace, whom I could name, the anſwer was, *They knew not how to relieve them*: Beſides this, it is well known, how they have beaten, kick'd, and wounded, even mortally, thoſe who offered to ſave what they had, with this ſtabbing *Sarcaſme* ever in their Mouths *Damn ye, ye Dogs, do not we Fight for your Religion*. And yet no puniſhment of, nor enquiry made after, the Authors of theſe Villanies; the Inferior Officers going ſhares with them in the booty, and the Superior ones, not daring to queſtion either, becauſe they gave them little other pay.

After they had thus marched over the moſt plentiful parts of *England*, like ſo many *Egyptian* Locuſts, they rendezvouzed, covering the Face of the Country with *dearth* and *deſolation*; till a hidden Wind carried them to the Sea, never to be ſeen again in *England*.

There went over, and joyn'd them in this Expedition, an Army of 22000. as my Lord *Raneligh* and Mr. *Hawbord* know; but there went only back into Winter Quarters, as Mr. *Waller* related to the Houſe, 10000. and as latter accounts informed, thoſe were reduced to 5 or 6000. till the *General* armed thoſe of the Country he could purchaſe.

By ſeveral Letters from divers of Sir *Thomas Gower*'s Officers, immediately after the decamping, it was certifi'd that they had not left 16 Men in a Company, and in one Letter from a Captain in that Regiment at *Newry*, a much dryer place than the Camp, it was expreſſed, *That the ſtrongeſt Company did not exceed* 26.

Out of the Regiment which *Schomberg* declared to be the beſt that went over, there died the *Colonel*, *Lieutenant Colonel*, ſix or ſeven Captains, beſides Inferiour Officers; which Regiment ſince recruited by two others which were broke, is now under the Command of the Earl of *Drogheda*; I doubt not but the like inſtances may be given of others.

For the continual Rains over their Heads, and a Boggy Camp under their Feet, toge-

ther

ther with the want of neceſſary cloathing, Food, and Phyſick, and a perpetual Duty, brought the Diſeaſe of the Country upon them; and the ſtench and corruption of that, a peſtilential Feaver, which robb'd them of their Senſes firſt and then their Lives.

That this was a Camp-Plague, appeared by the Bliſters, and their Carcaſſes turning immediately Black, and ſtinking as a Gangrene, and by the Lice and Vermin which iſſued out of their Plague Sores.

That this was alſo a Plague, ſent upon them by the immediate Hand of God, appears by a Nobleman's relation of its beginning: *For*, ſays he, *we expected to have done wonders, by ſo brave an Army, ſo well equipp'd, the like of which was never ſent from* England; *nay, we carried all before us, till we came to* Dundalk; *there King* JAMES *ſent a Remonſtrance to our General, repreſenting his Innocence, and the Malice of his Enemies; for a Tryal of both which we ſummon'd us to Battle, concluding with theſe Words*, And may GOD ſo proſper My Arms, as My Cauſe is Juſt, and I never deſign'd the prejudice of my Subjects: *To which our General made a ſhort Anſwer, concluding it in theſe Terms*, And may GOD ſo proſper my Arms, as mine, and my King's Cauſe is Juſt: *A heavy Curſe, which was immediately heard by Heaven, for in leſs than three days the Plague brok out, to that degree, that we never after durſt face our Enemies.*

Yet this ſevere Judgment of God, made little impreſſion upon the Living; for, as many Letters, which I have ſeen teſtifie, there appeared not ſo much as Humanity much leſs Chriſtianity amongſt them; Curſing, Swearing, Damning, and all ſorts of profaneſs, were ſtill there to an high degree; and their very Hoſpitals were, as one expreſſed it, the moſt lively Repreſentations of Hell, for the Blaſphemies, as well as Torments.

Sir *Thomas Gower's* Gentleman indeed relates, that his Maſter, upon his Death-bed, begg'd God Almighty's Pardon, for he was a young Man, and drawn in; but I hear not of many who imitated his example on their Death-beds, or that his repentance moved others to remorſe.

This Plague came with that violence upon them, that the Living ſcarce ſufficed to bury the Dead; inſomuch that they choſe to carry the dead and dying Bodies promiſcuouſly by Cart-loads to the adjacent ſhoar, to be there buried by the next Tide; for few, except thoſe of Quality, could obtain a Grave: Some, 'tis true, as the Miniſter of *Belfaſt* aſſured a Friend of mine at *Carlingford*, (as being then an Eye-witneſs of it,) were ſo afflicted to ſee their Fellow-Soldiers lie dead in the Fields, ſwarming with Lice, and the reſt allowed no other Grave but the Sea, that when they felt the approaches of Death, they deſired to ſee their own Graves made, and begg'd their *Friends* to bury them, which they did for any thing we know, before the Breath was quite out of their Bodies; for he ſpoke with one of them, who ſate to ſee his Grave made, and returning two hours after ſaw him buried. The Carcaſſes remoter from Sea were put 30 or 40 in an hole.

Nay, the inhumanity of the ſurviving was ſuch, that when any of the Sick, through the violence of their Diſeaſes, fell once to the ground, let their crys be never ſo vehement for help to remove them to the Hoſpitals, or other convenient Places, they ſhould ſooner be ſtripp'd than aſſiſted. In this condition a Lieutenant, arriving at *Carlingford* with Colonel *Lumly*, found his Brother; for walking along the ſhoar, he heard a voice, from among the dead Bodies, calling to him, by the Name of *Brother* for help, and going to the place he found it was indeed his Brother, who had been at the Ships to buy ſome Bread and Cheeſe, but falling there, he had been robb'd of it, inſtead of being help'd by his Comrades.

Neither was the inhumanity of their Officers leſs, for I have ſeen Letters from undoubted Hands, which ſaid, that at firſt no care was taken for any Hoſpitals; but you ſhould find thoſe who were ſick of Feavers, Small Pox, and Flux, lying on the cold wet ground, having no other drink but Water, and ſometimes not that neither. And though there was no marching in the Camp but in mire, yet were they kept almoſt perpetually upon Duty; every third Night upon the Guard, without Fires to dry themſelves by, when wet to the skin; ſo that they dryed their wet Cloaths by the heat of their Bodies, and never put them off till rotten.

Yet there is one thing very ſignal and remarkable in this Calamity, that there dyed above 100 *Engliſh* for 1 *Dutchman*: I know the *Scotch* account, *Jan.* 22 laſt, ſcribes it to the *Dutch* being more cleanly, and uſing more exerciſe; others may alſo impute it to their bodily temper, more hardned to ſuch

service, and inured to the like Air, and boggy Country in *Holland*; whereas the *English* were, many of them, new raised, not accustomed to such hardships, and much weaken'd, even in their prime, by dissoluteness and debauchery.

This, I say, may be granted, but yet there are other, no less manifest Causes of the different Fates of those two Parties: For, First, the *Dutch* were better provided for in all respects, by the partiality of the General; taken notice of, and much murmured at by the *English*: They had the selling of the Provisions and Victuals, nay even of the Water too, or the oversight of their disposal, and so serv'd themselves first. When Commissary *Shales* was put out, a *Dutch-man* was substituted in his place. And under pretence there might be some *Deserte* amongst the *English*, the *Dutch* and *French* were quartered in the out Quarters of his Camp, which was sure to be the freest from infection, as having most open Air, and the first service of Provisions.

Again, most of the Chirurgions and others, who were at last ordered to attend the Sick, were *Dutch* or *French*, Strangers to the *English* Constitution, nay sometimes scarce Novices in the Calling, as Captain *Topham* and others fatally experienced from Sir *Henry Ingolsbys French* Chirurgion, who was advanced to that Post from being his *Valet de Chambre*: So that though there were Provisions of Medicines, even six times as much as has sufficed other Armies; yet they took no store of *English* Physick along with them, and what they did was of no use, for want of skilful *English* Chirurgions, and judicious Physicians; for where there was neither Wound nor Gunshot, they knew not how to apply them.

Add to this, that Forreigners have not that compassion and care of the *English*, as of their own Country-men; nor as the *English* would have had of theirs. Indeed we had an instance of the *Dutch* partiality, before they went from hence; for their Wives had 6 *d.* a day allowed them, and some proportion for their Children; but the *English* not a penny.

All these things put together, give us, I say, just cause not to pass over the miscarriages of our *English*-men as a common Calamity, incident, more or less, to all Campaigns; but as an effect, in the first place, of God Almighty's Anger against them, both for their past and present Sins, and in particular that of the expedition it self: And, Secondly, caused, and perhaps intended, (I am sure it was their Interest,) by those who might (humanely speaking) in some measure have prevented it; which is no groundless suspicion, if you consider the same different Treatment and Fate of our *English* Forces in *Holland*, as I have already mention'd; and the same usage and condition of our Seamen and Soldiers aboard the Fleet, dying of the same Diseases, caused by the same neglect. I am sure every indifferent Man must necessarily conclude, that if there was a Design to ruine the strength of *England*, (and before I have done I shall bring yet stronger proofs that there was,) a more compendious way could not have been thought of to effect it.

Yet all this hath made little impression; for we find this year a numerous Army attends their King, and he hath taken several of the young Nobility with him, and made better provision than formerly, both for his own safety, and the preservation of his Forreigners: Yet we know this Expedition doth but aggravate their Generals Injustice; and we know that the Plague is not yet staid, but is again beginning among the new Recruits, the favourablest account mentioning the Death of 40 in a Week at the Hospital of *Belfast*, besides many more abroad; and their new Physician, Dr. *Smith*, and two of his Apothecaries are already dead, in three Weeks after their Landing; what may fall out after their encamping may be conjectured, if not prognosticated, without consulting Oracles.

It remains now, that, according to the method proposed at first, something be said of our *Religion* and *Government*; the two Things so much contended for, *the pretended Causes of all has been done, and the real Causes of all has been suffered.*

IV. *We will begin with Religion.*

In King *James*'s time *Popery* was the Word that alarm'd us all, nothing else was handled in our Pulpits; even Vices seem'd to be allow'd that liberty, which was denied to this. Not a Word against Treason and Rebellion; not a Word for Obedience and Patience to be heard of: These were Popish Virtues and Vices, State Subjects, fit for old *Elizabeth*'s Homilies.

But, I suppose all the World is now satisfied, of which of these two there was really most

most danger. Indeed unprejudiced and considering Men, did, even then, see how morally impossible it was that *Popery* could ever be introduced here, since all the attempts in order to it, had ever the quite contrary success, uniting the Church of *England* more, and filling the Publick Assemblies with many, who would not have gone thither, but to shew their zeal and opposition to *Popery*, by that distinctive Sign. And though a greater Liberty was granted to the Papists, yet they made such an unskilful and ignorant use of it, that they who wished them worst, were yet contented to allow them more; for they lost more by that short-liv'd Indulgence, than by all their former sufferings; it only serv'd to discover their weakness, to draw them out of their lurking holes, to make them known to those that hated them, and to set them up as a Mark for all the Nation to shoot at. The *Dissenters*, who seem'd to joyn with their Interest, were known to be the most averse to their Religion, and would never have concurred to any Act in their favour, but what should, at the same time, have tyed up their Hands, and made it impossible for them to have done the least wrong to others by it. In fine, they proved a broken reed to the credulous *Papists*, and left King *James* in the lurch when he had most need of them.

It was not then from the *Papists*, that the Church of *England* was in danger: But, *Illic trepidaverunt, ubi non erat timor*; out of an unnecessary solicitude to secure themselves, they put Weapons into the Hands of an irreconcileable Enemy, whom they had a little before laid prostrate at their Feet, I mean the *Presbyterian* Party: These indeed have help'd them to drive out the *Papist*, but they have got themselves into his Place; they have drawn almost the whole Body of *Dissenters* into their Party; they have arrogated to themselves the Name of Protestants, in distinction to the Church of *England*; they have all the *Hugonots* of *France*, and *Holland* on their side; and have begun their thorough Reformation in *Scotland* already to be carried on and compleated in good time in *England* also.

These are like to make another kind of War than the Papists could: These are Men who have no tubs in their Consciences, no Oaths of Supremacy to Dispense with, no Test to strain at, no Penal Laws to start at: They have, or hope to have, all plain and level, the same equal admission into *Court* and *Parliament*, *Camp* and *Westminster-Hall*, *Corporations*, *Colleges*, and *Cathedrals* too, though at present they seem not to have so strong an Interest in this Parliament, as in the last.

They have already gained one signal Victory over our poor *Church-men*, in making them *renounce their Allegiance*, ten times Sworn, by most of them, to the *Lawful Successors* of the *Crown*: They have *suspended* the best and greatest of our *Bishops*: They have revenged the old indignity of their renouncing the *Solemn League* and *Covenant* in 1663. And the ominous Feast of St. *Peter's* Chain, in 88. hath quit scores for the *English* St. *Bartholomew*.

They have made them renounce their Oath, *That it was not lawful to take up Arms against the King, or any Commission'd by him, upon any Pretence whatsoever.*

I know it is alleged by the Champions of the New Church of *England*, that King *James* kept not his Promise, in protecting that Church which had asserted these Principles, by his granting Indulgence to *Dissenters*.

But certainly, if it had not been for the Artifice of the Designers of this Revolution, the security of the Rights of our Church, by calm debates in a Parliamentary way, might as well have been consistent with a regulated Toleration, to all sorts of Dissenters, in King *James's* time, as now: And whatever reproaches have been cast upon King *James* on this account; whatever uses have been made of it, either to draw his Subjects to Rebellion, or justifie them in it, might be retorted with advantage (were it to any purpose) upon *him*, who had never got nor kept his Throne, had he not *made* and *broken more Solemn Promises*.

For when the Confederacy was entred into betwixt the *Pope*, the House of *Austria*, and the *United Provinces*, against the King of *France* no more was intended by them, but that the Prince of *Orange* should make a descent on some part of *England*, and thereby divert King *James* from assisting *France*: And to induce those Catholick Princes to consent thereto, the Prince gave them assurance that he would effectually accomplish that liberty for *Roman-Catholicks*, which King *James*, being a professed Papist, was not able to bring to pass: For the truth of this, I need bring no other proof, but the

Emperor's

Emperor's Expostulatory Letter, and Count *Mansfield's* Negotiation. And what a Famous Sea Captain, who went as one of the Convoys to the Queen of *Spain*, who hath told it to more than one, How the very *Religious*, he conversed with at his landing, expressed their great expectations from the P. of *Orange*, of favour to their Religion; telling him that if he had not come as he did to rescue them, King *James* had exposed them all to ruine, by giving Sectaries such Liberty; but this King would establish them in full Liberty. Indeed the Captain said he could not but smile to find such People so imposed upon. And in the Prince's Declaration, there is expresst a promise of some Kindness to them the while. Hence when the Judges, in the first *Circuit* did sired to know his pleasure, how they should deal with Catholick Priests: He told them, *He was under an Obligation to the Catholick Princes, not to molest them in the exercise of their Religion; and that he was not so apprehensive of disturbance from them, (because few and weak,) as from the professd Members of the Church of* England. Indeed then he had some reason, if they had stuck to the Doctrine of it, taught by all the learned and eminent Fathers of it in former Ages.

Pursuant also to this, when he sent Colonel *Hamilton* into *Ireland*, one of his Instructions was, to assure the *Irish*, that if they would submit, they should have the free exercise of their Religion, and their Ancient Estates restored to them. And, lastly, he brought along with him, more Catholick Soldiers than ever King *James* had in his Army. Where was then the Crime of this most injur'd Prince, in endeavouring to do that which the Usurper hath promised to do for him?

And that we may not think him *Popishly affected* in all this, let us see if he be as graciously disposed to the Church of *England*: What his Promises were to them before he came, they best know who invited him in to protect our Religion; but by all conjecture, and by the free confessions of those who were concerned, his Word was given, and Protestations made, to do quite other things. Therefore, upon his first coming to St. *James's*, he vouchsafed to receive the Sacrament, according to the Rites of our Church, from the Hands of the Bishop of *London*, the Bishop of *Bristol*, and the Reverend Dr. *Burnet* assisting; nay, the Rubricks were so punctually observed, that all who did not Communicate, (that is, the whole Congregation,) were bid to depart; but this was that they might not see how far the new Convert was to seek in his Ceremonies, and how *mal-adroitly* he performed them: But this, you may suppose, was for his Test-Communion, according to the Act of Parliament, at his entring upon his New Office, that he might not seem to favour the *Dispensing Power*, even towards his own Conscience.

Nevertheless that he might give a good example to Dissenters, and let them see he had some regard to his Promise to them also, and that he was no Enemy to Liberty of Conscience, nor Friend to Ceremony, after he was made King, he was pleased to sit covered all the time of the Sermon, betwixt his Queen and the Princess, without respect either to the Ladies or the Place chear; for as to the Communion Table, I believe he had not read the Rubrick.

For the same reason he also silenced the Church-Musick, though he has been pleased, upon second consideration, to establish it again, and elect the Conformist.

Thus has he been *off* and *on* in *England*, but he has now, it seems, counted Noses, and finds the Church of *England* the Major Part; and has therefore promised an hearty compliance, and dissolved his first Parliament as a Pledge of his future kindness: But let *Scotland* speak how far he may be believed in it.

The Instructions given to his High Commissioner, Duke *Hamilton*, at his first going down, are positive and plain. *You are*, says he in the Fourth Instruction,) *to pass an Act establishing that Church Government, which is most agreeable to the Inclination of the People rescinding the Act of the Parliament in* 1669. *and all other Acts inconsistent therewith*, Truly the very Spirit of our Reformers in 1642. *Vox Populi, vox Dei*: The inclination of the People, it seems, is the Word of God, and the Standard of Church-Government. And accordingly came a dispatching Instruction, in *July* following, in this quickning Expression, *You are to touch the Act passed for Abolishing Episcopacy as soon as you can, and to rescind all Acts inconsistent therewith.* And, lastly, he hath re-established the *Presbyterian* Government there by Act of Parliament.

That

That the ſame is not done in *England* yet, is becauſe a Party do not think it ſeaſonable; there are great Obligations to many of the Clergy of *England*, which are not to be forgot. It cannot be forgot who affronted King *James*, and brought him to Diſcreet with his People; who invited him in, or ſo readily welcomed him, and petitioned him to accept of the Government. They have made new Liturgies, ſtruck out old Prayers, and put in new, upon his ſingle Order, (a Favour too great for King *James*:) They have renounced the *Palladium* of the Engliſh Reformation, the Regal Supremacy, and retracted all their Sermons and Treatiſes of Paſſive Obedience and Non-Reſiſtence.

Yet notwithſtanding theſe great and good Services of ſo many of the Canonical Clergy, ſome ſteps have been made, and very large ones too, towards a Scotch Reformation of them: 1. By ſettling an Indulgence upon all Diſſenters. 2. By ſuſpending and ejecting the chief and moſt zealous of our Biſhops, and others of the regular Clergy. 3. By advancing upon all Vacancies of Sees, and Dignities Eccleſiaſtical, Men of Notorious, Presbyterian, or which is worſe, of Eraſtian Principles. Theſe are the inſenſible ways of undermining Epiſcopacy; and when to the ſeven notorious ones that are already, ſhall be added ſix more, upon the approaching Deprivation, they will make a Majority, and then we may expect the new Model of the Church to be perfected.

As for the diffuſive Body of the Clergy, they alſo proportionably warp, and grow every day more and more indifferent, by the means above mentioned, and though they were never ſo well principled, yet the tender regard to the ſubſiſtence of Wives and Children, will make them as willing to comply with an Alteration in Church Government, as it did in the Civil. However it is ſad to conſider what Reflexions ſome have had, who through fear of ſtarving, or want of Neceſſaries, have complied with the Times. I tremble at the Anſwer one gave a Juſtice of Peace at *Glouceſter*, to whom, reproving him for not taking the Oath ſooner, he replied, it was too ſoon then to damn himſelf to ſave his Family. And another, with great ſorrow and remorſe, wiſhed he had been ſtarved, or hanged, or torn in pieces by the Rabble, when he was perſecuted by them, rather than have taken the Oaths, whereby he feared he had loſt the Quiet and Comfort of his Mind. I will not relate the Melancholy or Madneſs ſome have fallen into upon this occaſion: I pray God their Repentance may be as great as their Apoſtacy.

But if there be but ſome few of ſuch who are touched with this Remorſe, in what a condition, at one time or other, muſt thoſe be in, who knowing their former Oaths to King *James* to be lawfull and juſt, and firmly believing, as well as ſolemnly declaring, that no Power on Earth can give a Diſpenſation in this caſe, yet have contrary to their Conſciences taken the Oath of Allegiance, to him, who can properly (as the Biſhop of St. *Aſaph* rightly in the Houſe declared) have no other Title but Conqueſt and Poſſeſſion; ſurely the pretended Election, by Perſons who had no power from the People to elect, make, and conſtitute a King, can give no Right.

And I cannot without aſtoniſhment think what account thoſe will have to give at the dreadfull Day, who by impoſing theſe Oaths have involved ſo vaſt a number of the Subjects in as great Perjury as ever was committed under the Sun. The impoſing the Engagement, after the Murther of King *Charles* the Martyr, was but a Promiſe of *being true and faithfull to the Commonwealth, as eſtabliſhed without King and Houſe of Lords*; but now an Oath of Allegiance is to be taken to one that hath not that Title of Conqueſt, as that Commonwealth pretended; nor of Succeſſion, till his Father, Brother, Wife, Siſter, and all their Progeny, are extinct: And the adding to this a new Declaration, as was deſigned, of renouncing K. *James* and his Title, and neither directly nor indirectly aiding or aſſiſting him, but diſcovering all things may be prejudicial to this Government, was to gall in the higheſt degree the Conſciences of Millions, who were content to yield Obedience to a King in Poſſeſſion, but never can be induced to believe, That King *James* can by any act of Violence loſe his Right, and ſo cannot declare ſolemnly, that they owe no Allegiance to him.

Having ſeen then the Inſtability of the Clergy and Laity, let us now enquire whether there be any more Stability in the King they have ſet up to govern us. He himſelf ſeems very deſultorious and unſteady in his Con-

duct towards these two Interests. A fresh Mark of which he has now given us in deserting the Presbyterians, and making new Offers to the Church of *England*; but that is because his own Interest is so. They that bid most shall have it; for, as the Bishop of *Winchester* said of him, *his Religion is in his Pocket*. The Commission before the late Convocation bid fair for the one; the gracious Speech to their Address, before their adjourning, bid as fair for the other: What slipt from him on Twelfth Night must go for nothing, 'twas under the Rose, *odi memorem Compotorem*.

He hath, if any ever had, two Faces under one Hood; and though he hath a double Conscience, one for this, and another for the North side of *Tweed*; yet he hath but *one* Principle, That Gain is great Godliness; and *one* Dutch Soul, *Interest*, to become all things to all Men, to gain all to himself. Surely a dark Lanthorn under a Crown or Mitre, is as dangerous as under a Parliament House.

But considering the tottering Condition he is in at home and abroad, the Miscarriages in *Ireland*, the Untractableness of *Scotland*, the Recalcitration of *Holland*, the Biassing of his Allies, and lastly, the Discontentedness and Mutability of *England*, all he can doe to linger out the Possession of his ill gotten Prey, is to play well his old Game of Dissimulation, and keep up these two great contrary Interests in a dependence on himself, and in a fear and hatred of King *James*; for if either of them suppress the other, his business is done; we shall either return to our rightfull Monarch again, or sink to a Commonwealth: So that in this case at least, his Kingdom differs from that of the Devil, *that unless it be divided it cannot stand*. 'Twas Division brought him in, 'tis Division keeps him here, and he can relie on nothing else for the future, except that of the Sinner in Mr. *Cowley*, *Predestination is his Friend*.

Now whether all this be conformable to the Promises he made to those who brought him in, let the impartial judge: Let such also judge whether King *James* or he are more guilty of Breach of Promise, and whether all manner of Religion be not more in danger under such a Person, who is really of none, than under one who is steady in some Principles. And that such a man as this, in the very first Act of his Government, should dare to bring to pass those very things, the very Repute of some of which, and the Attempting others, ruined his Predecessor; namely, that he should give Indulgence to Dissenters, fall foul upon the Bishops, (even those very ones whom he put in his Declaration as the Cause of his coming,) grant an Ecclesiastical Commission against the Liturgie, abolish Episcopacy in *Scotland*, which King *James* never intended, and lastly, keep a standing Army of Papists and Foreigners, contrary to his Promise in his Declaration, and be still bringing in more to enslave us; I say, that he should doe all this, and not a Man say to him, *What dost thou?* Is not this the very Slavery we have cried out against? or rather, Is it not a Token that we are delivered up to a reprobate sense, and become the Instruments and Actors of those very Violations which we so much abhorred, and so outrageously punished in others?

Having considered his Veering with every seeming advantageous Gale in matters of Religion, let us consider his Stability in his Commands and Instructions to his Servants and Ministers, of which I shall give but two Instances. When the Conditions upon which the Crown was to be conferred upon him were under Debate, *Min Heer Benting* told some of those he judged most fit to transmit his Master's Mind to the leading Members of his Party, That if they intended to clog the Crown with such Limitations, they little understood the Disposition of the Prince; for he would never accept the Government with such Restrictions. If he might not have it with all the Prerogatives that the Kings of *England* had enjoyed, he would let King *James* loose upon them to punish them for their ill Usage of him. This he imparted to one from whom I had the Account, and the Gentleman was industrious to inform such as he judged fittest with this Admonition; one of which knowing the Prince's Temper, bid him be very carefull, for he might be crushed by it; for if the Prince found such a thing resented by any strong Party in the Houses, he would deny any such Direction. The Gentleman told him it was impossible for him to gainsay it, for not only *Benting* had spoke to him, but to others; and my Lord *Paget*, and some other Lords had the like Direction for application to the Peers; yet when it was seen that it could not be carried as desired

red, all this was denied, and it was charged upon the officious Zeal of the Perſons who, for his Grandure, and their own Ends, contrived it.

A freſher Inſtance we have in the matter of the Abjuration, in which this King employed my Lords *S. D.* and others in the Houſe of Lords, and Mr. *Wharton* and others in the Houſe of Commons, to promote it. But a noble Marques and Count informing him, that though the Church of *England*-Men readily yielded him Obedience, and took an Oath of Allegiance unto him, yet he would find that they would almoſt unanimouſly refuſe to abjure, as being of an higher nature than Obedience, and a ſort of determining Providence; and all the Effect he would find by it, would be to create Diſſatisfaction, Repining, and Oppoſition to it; whereby he would loſe infinite of Hearts that he had now: And if the Severity of Impriſonment and Fines were Penalties to be inflicted upon the Offenders, it would make them combine againſt him. This Conſideration made him forthwith employ others of his Confidents to oppoſe it: Which Inſtability in his Politicks, and his not backing thoſe with his Countenance and Authority, whom he had put upon this ingrateful Work, cauſed thoſe Perſons to declare they would quit their Places.

It is true, he condeſcended much below the Dignity of his Character, to court their keeping their Stations; and hath been forced to confer 3000 *l.* a Year upon his Admiral, to hire him to take a Commiſſion that for two or three Days he had flung up. And we may eaſily conceive, that if he find it will be like to ſucceed better for his Intereſt to purſue his firſt Intention, thoſe two great Miniſters of State who thwarted it, may expect a Removal by Command. However, the Layers down of their Commiſſions may well conclude, that when he comes victorious from *Ireland*, he will ſeverely remember the undutifulneſs of ſuch who put him *to a Cap, and a Pray you, my Lord, do not leave my Service.* For, to ſay Truth, they have dealt ſo with their Sovereign, as they would not permit their Secretaries, Stewards, Maſters of their Horſe, or any other of their Servants to have dealt with themſelves.

But theſe bleſſed Qualifications of our new King, and the Phariſaical Politicks againſt our Allegiance, under pretence of our Religion, will more manifeſtly be ſeen now we come to conſider,

V. *What ſort of Government we have choſen to live under, in exchange for that we have ſhaken off.*

And this will appear by Enquiry what that Government was, what this is, and, if nothing interpoſe, what it will be, and that very ſpeedily.

It is not my Deſign here, to deſcend to all the particular Tranſactions of Government under King *James*, either to juſtifie them, or ſet them off by compariſon with the preſent, or probable future, ſince no humane Government was ever, or will be capable of ſuch a Deſign. The Faults and Errors with which his Enemies reproach him are the ordinary Subject of Hiſtory, in the Reigns of all his Predeceſſors, and of all other Kings and Courts in *Chriſtendom*. For what is more obvious than Examples of Men of great Abilities and Merits laid aſide, and Men unqualified, and odious to the Publick, put in their places? What more common, than buying and ſelling of Places, giving Mandates, and making Intrenchments upon Corporations and Colleges? What more uſual in our Hiſtories than the diſgracing, ſuſpending and impriſoning Biſhops and Clergy-men? Theſe, I ſay, are common places of all Hiſtory though not always found attended with ſuch dire Effects upon the Princes, who perhaps were, or, at leaſt, were ſaid to be, the Authors of them,

But my Intention is only to aſſert in general the Innocence of him who has not ſo eſcaped, though owned by his very Enemies to have had a true *Engliſh* Spirit, and tender Affection to all his Subjects; a Zeal and Delight in advancing their Peace and Plenty at home, and Honour abroad; to have been an excellent, good natur'd, generous Prince, the moſt conſtant Friend, the beſt Father and Maſter in the World, and the moſt merciful to his Enemies.

All theſe Qualities, I ſay, and the Effects of them, were experienced by the whole Nation in general, and by thoſe in particular who had the Honour and Happineſs of belonging to, or depending on him, in their ſeveral Relations; and need no other Proof than the black and foul Ingratitude that ſticks upon thoſe who have, in the ſight of God and Man, rendred him Evil, the worſt of Evils, for all the Good they held and enjoyed from him alone. Let us conſider them apart, and begin with the neareſt to him.

King

King *Lear* and his Daughter is perhaps but a Fable, and *Tullia*'s Father was but a Slave by Birth, and an Intruder into the Royal Family; but the paternal Love of King *James* towards his Daughters is as true as it is unparallell'd; his Care in their Education, Marriages, and Proviſions for them, are Demonſtrations of it. The Honours conferred by him, upon their Mother's Houſe, and their Proximity to the Throne, deſerved ſome Returns of Gratitude; but how they have been made, and what was expected from Obligation and filial Duty, the World now ſeeth and judgeth. I need ſay no more, let Nature ſpeak the reſt in all who read this.

What the Royal Father ſuffers from his ungrateful *Tullia*, aſtoniſheth even barbarous Nations, and ſcandalizeth Chriſtianity; and yet not one Act of Love, of Pity, of Remorſe, or Shame to be returned! All to be trampled upon, and the Royal Author of them expoſed knowingly and avowedly to the greateſt Indignities of Pens and Tongues, all over the Nation. I need not here mention the many ſcurrilous Pamphlets, which have been publiſhed, *Licenſed and Entred according to Order*; the odious Ballads that have been printed, and ſung about the Streets; nor the abominable Secret Hiſtory of King *Charles* and King *James* II. ſo full of notorious Lies, falſe Inferences, and Malice, that no Government, certainly, but this would have connived at it, or let it paſs without condemning it to be burnt by the publick Hang-man.

The Street where *Tullia* drove her Beaſts over the Face of her dead Father, was called *Scelerata*, the unnatural, or impious Street, to all Poſterity. What Street is there in all the Cities of *England*, where the like Impieties have not been acted by her Connivance, not to ſay Authority, to grace her unnatural Triumph?

Great Enquiries were made after him who cut the Prince's Picture in *Guild-Hall*, and a Reward propoſed by them, who could diſcover the Author, as one that would have committed the like Indignity on the Prince's Perſon, if he had had him in his power: But was there the leaſt Check to a *Killigrew*, *Hayford*, and their Companions, for their Rage againſt a Father's Statue, which they dragged about the Streets of *Newcaſtle*? Was there a Word ſaid to the Inhabitants of *Glouceſter*, who, when they had pulled down and broken every Limb of his Statue, carried the Head in a Barrow, and caſt it into a Jaques, and wheeled the Trunk into the River *Severn*, and diſpoſed of other parts, and the Supporters, with the Arms of the four Kingdoms, with Contempt, at their pleaſure? Was there any notice taken of thoſe who committed his Picture to the Flames in almoſt every City of the Kingdom? If they who connive at Crimes are juſtly cenſured to approve them, what is all this Silence, but an Approbation of all the unnatural Impieties which theſe Actors would have done to the Perſon repreſented.

But let us paſs to the next Inſtance of his Paternal Merit, made out by the like Return of Duty in the younger Siſter. Did there a Day paſs, without ſome new Expreſſions of Love and Kindneſs to her: and not only in Viſits, and thoſe doubled, and in the Night too, upon her leaſt Indiſpoſition; but alſo in ſupplying all her profuſe Expences, upon the leaſt Intimation, notwithſtanding his Frugality towards himſelf, and the great Charge he was at for the Publick? Nay, when her Husband deſerted him, and ſhe on the other ſide, went Northward, to countenance the Riſing of the confederate Lords, a Perſon of Honour can tell what Words fell from the King, for the Danger his *dear Child*, ſo he called her, *expoſed her Health to*; *and if ſhe ſhould miſcarry by ſuch a Journey, he ſhould be troubled as long as he lived.* Was this a Father to be caſt off, and abdicated, even with their natural Right to the Crown, in their Order? Was it a more honourable and happy State, to become the *Orphan of the People*, as ſome in the Houſe ſtyled her?

As to his being a good Maſter, I know not which ſort of grateful Servants to begin with. The Biſhop of *London*, from a Cornet of Horſe, the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* from a Captainſhip; the firſt apoſtatiſing to his Jack-Boots again, and for the ſecond, I deſire him to remember the parting Words of his kind Maſter; *My Lord, I foreſee you will have cauſe to repent your Proceedings towards me, as I do of mine towards you.* Words, one would think, might pierce an harder Heart than that of ſuch an old Cavalier. What ſhould I ſay of the Archbiſhop of *York*, rewarded ſo highly for one ſingle Act of Duty, ſince he repented ſo ſoon of that ſhort-liv'd Merit.

Next for the Conſtancy of his Favours, and even Friendſhip, where once conferred; it is notorious that it was his Undoing: This made him deaf to all the Suggeſtions againſt the Contrivance of his Son-in-Law, to all

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that was offered to be proved againſt thoſe of his Privy Counſellors who now, in the ſame poſture, reap the Fruits of their Treachery and Ingratitude to him; and this made him lay aſide ſome who might have been otherwiſe extreamly uſeful to him, and take all the late Meaſures which exaſperated the Church of *England*, and were ſuggeſted by thoſe who were truſted by him, with a Deſign to ruin him.

I ſhall not ſum up many Inſtances, but content my ſelf with one, which I think is ſcarce to be paralleld in Hiſtory; the conſcientious and religious Lord *Churchill*. See his Letter, and his Farewel-Kiſs ſent therein to his betrayed Maſter: Let that ſpeak alowd what he owed, and what he payed. But as to his Pretence of Religion and Conſcience, give me leave to make out that a little, for his Lordſhip's ſake.

He is a *Judas* on both ſides. I need not mention the Promiſe he had made to betray his Maſter who created him, if that Term be proper for ſuch as are raiſed out of nothing, and to deliver him up, alive or dead; nor the Plot he had laid to effect his Treachery, under pretence of Kindneſs; they are too well known to need my Relation. But you would be perhaps aſtoniſhed, if you knew not his Temper, ſhould I tell you he has, not many Months ſince, made Application to be reconciled to his old Maſter; and yet about the ſame time informed, he knew one that ſaid there were an hundred Members in the Houſe of Commons Well-wiſhers to King *James*.

He had a ſeeming Zeal to get the Princeſs 70000*l. per Annum*, and yet the Methods are known by which, at the ſame time, he obſtructed it. I have already ſhewn his conſcientious cheating his Soldiers in the *Low-Countries*; to which I may add, that he had an Allowance for a Table for his Officers, yet he kept none; that he excelled in the giving falſe Muſter-Rolls, even twenty in one Troop, and thirty ſixia another; putting in Names, ſome killed in *Monmouth*'s Rebellion, others dead in *England* ſince, and alive at this Day, out of all Service; the Liſts of which have been ſhewn to me. Now is there any thing of Conſcience in this Man's Conduct, from one end to the other? Is there any thing but meer *Judas* and Damnation? The firſt corrupted Favourite of his Royal Maſter, the firſt that went over, and the Man who adviſed the Prince, at *Windſor*, to ſecure the King in the Tower of *London*, and bring him to Juſtice, or to ſend him Priſoner to ſome place in the *Low-Countries*, there to be dealt with, as Occaſion ſerved.

I have not patience, after this Wretch, to mention any other; all are innocent comparatively to him, even *Kirk* himſelf: Neither will I inſiſt upon the reſt, though moſt deſervedly rewarded; ſuch as the Duke of *Ormond*, ſo kindly received by his Royal Maſter, when he made him a friendly Offer of his Service, graced with his Grandfather's Garter, and Succeſſion in the Chancellorſhip of *Oxford*, at the very time he was plotting againſt him. And what has he got by his Deſertion? To be Captain of a Troop of Guards, and his Colonel, the Son of a *Coventry*-Cutler, take place of him. The Duke of *Grafton*, diveſted of all his Commands, notwithſtanding his *Dutch* Alliances, and reduced to an arbitrary Penſion, *Quam hic ſe bene geſſerit.*

But that which ought to fill all Men of Honour, or even common Senſe, with Indignation is, that this moſt abuſed, moſt injured Prince has brought all theſe Miſeries upon himſelf by his Clemency and Goodneſs to his Enemies. The famous Mr. *Prynn* ingenuouſly confeſſed to a Friend of mine, that if he had been ſentenced in King *Charles* I. his time, to have loſt his Head, inſtead of his Ears, it had been well for the Kingdom: And I may ſay, if King *James*'s Sceptre had been made of Iron, and laid more heavy on ſome incorrigible Subjects, we had not been now enſlaved by the Deſtroyers of his Father, by the Conſpirators againſt his Brother, the Aſſociates of *Monmouth* and *Argyle*; neither he nor we had been plagued with *Hambdens*, and *Speaks*, and *Kings of Hearts*, and the reſt; who have made no other uſe of his mild Government, but to ruin it. So that this Clemency hath been his only Fault, and they have puniſhed him for it, and given him cauſe at leiſure to repent, and do Penance for that Godlike Vertue, in the regretful Words of murther'd *Cæſar*, *Mene hos ſervaſſe, ut eſſent qui me perderent?* But he who has reaped the Fruits of their Treaſons, has begun to puniſh them, and will, no doubt, make them ſuffer all thoſe, and worſe Calamities, which their lying Spirit hypocritically foreboded from his mild and innocent Predeceſſor.

For let us, in the ſecond place, take a View of his way of governing at this preſent, and then judge if we have not brought upon our ſelves Scorpions inſtead of Whips, and laid more Weight on the Nation by the Touch of this *Little Finger of a Monarch*, than his Father did by his whole Body.

After he had brought upon the Nation all the Calamities above specified (which perhaps were not to be avoided in such a Change) has he ever given the least Sign of Pity or Concern for our Sufferings? Could we be worse used, had he conquered us in Battel? Of all the Nobility who either ran in to him, or now fawn on him, whom doth he trust? What Employment have they, unless to discharge the odious part of his Government on their Fellow Subjects? We see who are removed from the Treasury, even the forwardest in his Service; from his Fleet an Admiral; some laying down the greatest Places, others like to follow; and those who now lead the Van of his Favourites, have but little Assurance that he will not discard them when they have done his Drudgery. The important and essential Consults and Resolutions are all managed by a few Foreigners, in a secret Cabal of *Dutch Men*; of whom, that he might form a standing Council, no less than five Ambassadors came over from *Holland* at once, whereas those States never sent above two to any crowned Head in *Christendom*; with these and *Benting*, and some of the confederate Lords who were with him in *Holland*, (though these last very rarely,) he concerted the Scheme and Model of his Government.

The principal Resolution taken was, that, for fear of the worst, seeing the Humour of the *English* is so giddy and changeable, they should be impoverished in their Estates and Trade, and weakned in their Forces by Land and Sea; so that let the Success of Affairs be what it would, we should not be able to do any thing for one hundred Years, but in Conjunction with the *Dutch*. I dare appeal to the Consciences of them, if this be not true; and though they dare not own it here, yet the very Conduct of Affairs, and the Account I have given you in the first three Particulars, does loudly speak it.

For what has there been done to continue, much less to advance, the thriving State of the Kingdom he found it in? Our Ammunition, Military and Naval Stores spent; but in what Service? What Execution has been done with them, or what Care to lay in more? The dispersing and destroying of our Sea-men and Soldiers I have shewn before: The Embezeling and Exportation of our Gold and Silver, *in Specie*, is not yet so publickly, at least so particularly manifested; but by the Accounts given, and the Incomes of five Millions he hath received since he came to *White-Hall*, it is demonstrable that he hath lodged somewhere vast Summs for his future use,

These are but *Privative* Instances of his destructive Government, namely, the *Gutting* of the Nation, and making the Kingdom vacant, as he did the Throne. Come we now to the *Positive* Part: What has he given us in the stead, and thereby we shall see what his Government is like to be, being the last Act of our Tragedy, *viz.* Absolute and Arbitrary, without regard to ancient Laws, or modern ones, even of his own enacting.

This, as horrid as it seems, will appear, I think, demonstrative, from these following Proofs.

1. The bringing in of eight Thousand *Danes* already, and we know not how many more of them, or other Foreign Nations: It is well known, there comes over every Week, in Parties, great numbers of Strangers, with their Wives and Children, who have Subsistence-Money allowed them, till they can be formed into Companies; of those, *Ludlow* was to have had a Regiment, as his Nephew has acknowledged; and though his Unkle was sent packing by a Sham-Proclamation, yet he is not gone for *Geneva*, but is still within Call, nay, perhaps within the reach of a Whisper.

2. The Quartering of these Foreigners in our most considerable Places of Strength, both on the Sea Coast, and within the Land: For can we imagine it was only the Chance of a Tempest, and not a Design forelaid, that brought the *Danes* so directly to *Hull*, *Bridlington*, *Scarbrough*, *Tinmouth* and *Leith*; so that they have at once got a full Inspection into all the Ports North of *Humber*, as the *Dutch* have done on the South in both Seas: To which we may add, the long Continuance of them in the Country, traversing it, and quartering in all the great Towns in the North, and Gentlemens and Farmers Houses, contrary to the express Laws, before they were dispatched into *Ireland*; not only that they might harass them, but be throughly acquainted with the Situation, Roads, and Nature of the Inhabitants, which are Matters of greatest Importance to advance any Foreign Interest; and we know the *Dutch* are spread, like Locusts, over the whole Kingdom, and seem to be the last designed for *Ireland*.

3. The putting the highest offices of Trust and Importance into the Hands of his own mercenary Foreigners, who have no other Interest, or Being but what depends on his Fortune, like so many *Bashaws* or *Beglerbegs* upon their *Grand Seignior*; such as *Schonbergh* and *Hasen Benting*, *Solmes*, &c. All these, and their *Janisaries*, are pretended for the Reduction

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tion of *Ireland*, and ſubduing of *Scotland*; but their laſt Service and Reward will be the enſlaving of *England*, as was experienced by us in the *Cromwellian* Army, after the like ſucceſs in thoſe Countries. But we are not permitted to ſtay ſo long; for we ſee we are in a great degree enſlaved already, by the numbers of foreign Troops we have at preſent, and it is becauſe of the Awe of thoſe, as it was of *Cromwell's* Army, that our Parliaments dare deny no Money, nor the making of any Laws which are for the ſecurity of the Government.

Now theſe Foreigners being made up of ſo many different Sects of Papiſts Lutheranes, Calviniſts, &c. how can they be continued in his Service, unleſs he firſt become ſo abſolute as to reſume a diſpenſing Power over the Sacrament, Teſt, and other legal Impediments, which may ſeem to check theſe ſucceſsfull Strangers, in the performance of what they come for?

But alas! What do I ſpeak of *legal*, or *diſpenſing*! Will there be any regard to the one, or need for the other, in ſuch an Inundation of armed Foreigners? Do we think they have ſuch awfull Notions of doing things *in a Parliamentary way*, as we have; and will take no Money but what the Houſe of Commons will give them? Colonel *Min Heer* will have more Authority than all *my Lords* joined together. Doubtleſs we ſhall find them equally the Conſervators of our Properties, and of our Religion, ſuch as the *Normans* were to the *Saxons*, and the *Saxons* in their turns had been to the *Britans*: The firſt under the Conqueror of this Man's fatal Name, had but one landing place, and made all *England* his own; the other under *Hengiſt* and *Haſt*, with but the ſixth part of the number of our preſent Invaders, having got Poſſeſſion of the Iſle of *Thanet*, yet by little and little brought over ſo many from the ſame Shoar from whence our new Recruits are coming, that they entirely ruined the Britiſh Monarchy. About 250 years after they themſelves, in a great meaſure, ſuffered the ſame treatment from the lordly Anceſtors of our *new Daniſh Gueſts*. They have in our Hiſtories left fair Example for their Poſterity to follow in the *Danegelt*, and other Britiſh Tyrannie: But let their Nephews have a care of St. *Clement's* Bowl.

In ſober adneſs the very remembrance of theſe bold Invaders ought to rouſe us a little out of our preſent Lethargie, to ſtand upon our Guard againſt the new ones. They ought to open our Eyes, and make us jealous of all theſe deluave Pretences of Liberty and Religion, which have driven us upon the brink of Slavery and Atheiſm.

It muſt be the wonder of all ſucceeding Ages, that the pretended fear of an inconſiderable number of *Papiſts* in *England*, ſhould ſcare us thus out of our Senſes, Underſtanding, and Knowledge of our Intereſt, to change our bleſſed Peace for War and Ravage, the well balanced Monarchy under an indiſputably lawfull King, for *Min Heer Benting*, who upon the matter now rules over us.

It is the wonder alſo of all judicious Perſons, that when we find our Anceſtors have been ſo jealous of the admiſſion of any Foreigners into the Kingdom; and we cannot forget how vehemently the Parliament in 1628, repreſented the very Attempt of K. *Charles* I. of hiring but 1000 *Germane* Horſe; that neither the laſt Parliament nor this ſhould once enquire into the danger of above 30000 Foreigners brought in, nor conſider that this very thing would perpetuate a War in the Bowels of theſe 3 Kingdoms, and will neceſſitate an arbitrary oppreſſive Government, as long as they have footing here.

But to return. We have a freſh Inſtance of his Arbitrarineſs: 1. In the Prorogation of the late Convention, which though it aſſumed a Power to make a King, and create itſelf a Parliament, yet could not ſupport its being one day againſt his arbitrary Reſolution. But, 2. And more eſpecially in the diſſolution of it. In the firſt he ſhewed how little he valued that great Council, rather than their giving him Money; and in the ſecond he ſhew'd the diſeſteem he had of his Privy Council, tho' choſen out of the wiſeſt, as he judged, and moſt obliged to his Intereſt, that the Nation could afford: For on *Tueſday* night, the 6th of *Febr.* laſt, he very bluntly and magiſterially told them, that he had determined to diſſolve the Parliament, and ordered Mr. Attorney General to read the Draught of the Proclamation for that purpoſe. When thoſe words were read, *By and with the Advice of our Privy Council*, a certain Lord, ſeconded by ſome others, told the Attorney General, they had never heard the matter propoſed before that Inſtant. But their Sovereign bid him read on; and when ſome again began to have the matter debated, he told them, *he was reſolved upon it*, and ſo ſome hing abruptly left them, like Cyphers, to look upon one another, and ſignifie juſt nothing. So true it is, that he hath a Dutch Junto of his own, with whoſe Politicks, unleſs our Statesmen hit, their Advice ſhall be little regarded.

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It is to be presumed he will not treat this Parliament better, assoon as he hath got all the Money they will afford him, and have perfected such Bills as will secure his Government. And it may be there is not a greater Instance of Arbitrariness in any King's Reign, than he hath shewn in his very Pardon, to single out some fitting Peers, who have conformed to his Government, sworn Allegiance to him, and have been neither impeached by the Commons, nor proceeded against by due course of Law for any Crimes, some of which are guilty of nothing, but in acting in Commission with others whom he hath pardoned, and one chargeable with nothing, but the sending K. *James*'s Declaration into his Diocese, which the most aged Prelate on that Bench, and others, had done with much more earnestness; hereby, as much as in him lies, exposing them to the Rabble, and impressing a Brand of Infamy upon them; a thing exceeding the demanding the 5 Members by K. *Charles* I. who did it not till the House had voted their Protection, when he had exhibited Articles of High Treason against them. If he doe these things in the very Infancy of his Power, against those who set him up, what may we expect from him, should his Reign continue? And since the Nation hath suffered so much in 18 Months, we have reason sure to wish they may not be multiplied upon us.

I am confounded, I must confess, with Horrour, to look onely back upon the Miseries we have hitherto felt; but when I consider that *Pandora*'s Box is but just open'd, and view a long Train of War, Famine, Want, Bloud, and Confusion, entailed upon us and our Posterity, as long as this Man, or any deseended from him, shall possess the Throne, and see what a Gap is opened for every ambitious Person who can cajole the People to usurp it: These Considerations, I say, chill my Bloud in my Veins, and I cannot but lament my poor Countries Misfortunes with deepest Sighs and Groans.

It is to be hoped I am not alone, but that the Eyes of all seeing Men are opened by the Smart of what they feel; and I appeal to their Consciences to judge which is most reasonable, or is likely to be most beneficial to us; To keep up a Government built upon the most destructive Principles to the Peace and Tranquillity of the Nation, that ever was contrived by the most pernicious *Machiavels* in the World; viz. the Original Contract with the People; a Government raised by Parricide and Usurpation, entred into by Violation of his own Declaration, supported by the Overthrow of all our Laws Sacred and Civil, and the Perjury of the Nation. A Government under which we have suffered all hitherto related, to set up the Dutch, our Rivals, upon our Ruine, and from which we have gained nothing of what we aimed at, either as to the Establishment of our Religion, or our Property; but on the contrary, greater Animosities and Confusion; a Government which drives furiously on arbitrary Principles, and cannot long subsist without breaking into that Tyranny we suffered under the Rump and *Cromwell*. In a word, it has brought along with it all the Plagues we dreaded under others, and gives us nothing but the dismal Prospect of all the Misfortunes which can befall a Nation, which hath greatly provoked God Almighty's Anger.

I appeal, I say, to all true *Englishmen*, Judgments, of what Persuasion soever in Religion, whether it will be more to our Interest in this World and the next, to support this Government, or to return to our known Duty, and call back our lawfull King, who has shewn himself upon all occasions a lover of his People, an Encourager of Trade, a Desirer of true Liberty to tender Consciences, an Hater of all Injustice, and a true Father to his Countrey.

He alone can restore us to our former Tranquillity and Peace, and is studying how to do it. He alone can heal all our Breaches, and unite our Dissentions, and for his Endeavors in this he suffers. He alone can restore us to our flourishing Trade, and our Enemies know and fear it. He alone can prevent all impending Miseries, and make us happy, if we will our selves; and the Recalling him is the only means left us to effect it.

If we recall him not, it is morally certain he will be restored by another hand: For God will not let such Wickedne's go unpunished. But I dare pawn my Soul he is more desirous to return by the goodwill of his People, than our present Master is ambitious to govern by the Power of Strangers. And we may be well assured, that by our King's Return, lasting Peace, with all the advantages of it, will more especially be restored in one month, than all the Power and Contrivance of this Government can doe in 20 years, if for a scourge to these Nations God Almighty permit him and his Forcigners to rule over us so long.

FINIS.